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peaceful settlement. For this purpose there shall be created, in addition to the existent Hague Court of Arbitration, (a) a permanent Court of International Justice; (b) a permanent Council of Investigation and Conciliation. The States shall bind themselves to take concerted action, diplomatic, economic, or military, in case any State should resort to military measures instead of submitting the dispute to judicial decision or to the mediation of the Council of Investigation and Conciliation.

4. The States shall agree to reduce their armaments. In order to facilitate the reduction of naval armaments the right of capture shall be abolished and the freedom of the seas assured.

5. Foreign policy shall be under the effective control of the parliaments of the respective nations.

Secret treaties shall be void.

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF WOMEN.

April 28, 29, 30, 1915.

(The Hague, Holland.)

Resolutions Adopted.

I. Women and War.

1. *Protest.*

We women, in International Congress assembled, protest against the madness and the horror of war, involving as it does a reckless sacrifice of human life and the destruction of so much that humanity has labored through centuries to build up.

2. *Women's Sufferings in War.*

This International Congress of Women opposes the assumption that women can be protected under the conditions of modern warfare. It protests vehemently against the odious wrongs of which women are the victims in time of war, and especially against the horrible violation of women which attends all war.

II. Action Towards Peace.

3. *The Peace Settlement.*

This International Congress of Women of different nations, classes, creeds, and parties is united in expressing sympathy with the suffering of all, whatever their nationality, who are fighting for their country or laboring under the burden of war.

Since the mass of the people in each of the countries now at war believe themselves to be fighting, not as aggressors, but in self-defense and for their national existence, there can be no irreconcilable difference between them, and their common ideals afford a basis upon which a magnanimous and honorable peace might be established. The Congress therefore urges the governments of the world to put an end to this bloodshed and to begin peace negotiations. It demands that the peace which follows shall be permanent, and therefore based on principles of justice, including those laid down in the resolutions adopted by this Congress, namely:

That no territory should be transferred without the consent of the men and women in it, and that the right of conquest should not be recognized.

That autonomy and a democratic parliament should not be refused to any people.

That the governments of all nations should come to an agreement to refer future international disputes to arbitration or conciliation and to bring social, moral, and economic pressure to bear upon any country which resorts to arms.

That foreign politics should be subject to democratic control.

That women should be granted equal political rights with men.

4. *Continuous Mediation.*

This International Congress of Women resolves to ask the neutral countries to take immediate steps to create a conference of neutral nations which shall, without delay, offer continuous mediation. The Congress shall invite suggestions for settlement from each of the belligerent nations and in any case shall submit to all of them simultaneously reasonable proposals as a basis of peace.

III. *Principles of a Permanent Peace.* (Elaborated from II-3.)

IV. *International Co-operation.*

10. *Third Hague Conference.*

This International Congress of Women urges that a third Hague Conference be convened immediately after the war.

11. *International Organization.*

This International Women's Congress urges that the organization of the Society of Nations should be further developed on the basis of a constructive peace, and that it should include:

a. As a development of the Hague Court of Arbitration, a permanent International Court of Justice to settle questions or differences of a justiciable character, such as arise on the interpretation of treaty rights or of the law of nations.

b. As a development of the constructive work of the Hague Conference, a permanent International Conference holding regular meetings in which women should take part, to deal not with the rules of warfare, but with practical proposals for further international co-operation among the States. This conference should be so constituted that it could formulate and enforce those principles of justice, equity, and good will in accordance with which the struggles of subject communities could be more fully recognized and the interests and rights, not only of the great powers and small nations, but also those of weaker countries and primitive peoples gradually adjusted under an enlightened international public opinion.

The International Conference shall appoint:

A permanent Council of Conciliation and Investigation for the settlement of international differences arising from economic competition, expanding commerce, increasing population, and changes in social and political standards.

12. *General Disarmament.*

This International Congress of Women, advocating universal disarmament and realizing that it can only be secured by international agreement, urges, as a step to this end, that all countries should, by such an international agreement, take over the manufacture of arms and munitions of war and should control all international traffic in the same. It sees in the private profits accruing from the great armament factories a powerful hindrance to the abolition of war.

13. *Commerce and Investments.*

a. The Congress urges that in all countries there shall be liberty of commerce; that the seas shall be free and the trade routes open on equal terms to the shipping of all nations.

b. Inasmuch as the investment by capitalists of one country in the resources of another and the claims arising therefrom are a fertile source of international complications, this Congress urges the widest possible acceptance of the principle that such investments shall be made at the risk of the investor, without claim to the official protection of his government.

14. *National Foreign Policy.*

a. This International Congress of Women demands that all secret treaties shall be void, and that for the ratification of future treaties the participation of at least the legislature of every government shall be necessary.

b. This International Congress of Women recommends that national commissions be created and international conferences convened for the scientific study and elaboration of the principles and conditions of permanent peace, which might contribute to the development of an international federation.

These commissions and conferences should be recognized by the governments and should include women in their deliberations.

15. Women in National and International Politics.

This International Congress of Women declares it to be essential, both nationally and internationally, to put into practice the principle that women should share all civil and political rights and responsibilities on the same terms as men.

V. The Education of Children.

16. This International Congress of Women urges the necessity of so directing the education of children that their thoughts and desires may be directed towards the ideal of constructive peace.

VI. Women and the Peace Settlement Conference.

17. This International Congress of Women urges, that in the interests of lasting peace and civilization the conference which shall frame the peace settlement after the war should pass a resolution affirming the need in all countries of extending the parliamentary franchise to women.

18. This International Congress of Women urges that representatives of the people should take part in the conference that shall frame the peace settlement after the war, and claims that amongst them women should be included.

VII. Action to Be Taken.

19. Envoys to the Governments.

In order to urge the governments of the world to put an end to this bloodshed and to establish a just and lasting peace, this International Congress of Women delegates envoys to carry the message expressed in the Congress resolutions to the rulers of the belligerent and neutral nations of Europe and to the President of the United States.

These envoys shall be women of both neutral and belligerent nations, appointed by the International Committee of this Congress. They shall report the result of their missions to the International Women's Committee for constructive peace as a basis for further action.

20. Women's Voice in the Peace Settlement.

This International Congress of Women resolves that an international meeting of women shall be held in the same place and at the same time as the conference of the powers which shall frame the terms of the peace settlement after the war, for the purpose of presenting practical proposals to that conference.

The Attitude of Pacifism Toward War.

By Alfred H. Fried.

[The following is chapter XI of a pamphlet by Dr. A. H. Fried, published in Germany a few months before the outbreak of the war. The English translation by Dr. John Mez has been published by the American Association for International Conciliation, 407 West 117th street, New York City, with the title, "A Brief Outline of the Nature and Aims of Pacifism." We reprint this chapter in order to clear up the misconceptions as to the attitude of pacifism toward the present war and the possibility of ending it.]

The peace movement works against war, because war is still possible and constantly impending. *This is the justification of its existence. The movement would be superfluous if a condition of peace were assured.*

Curiously this simple truth is misunderstood by the

public to an incredible extent. For it is precisely during a time of international disturbance and of impending armed conflict that the peace movement is called untimely. *As though to work for peace were justified only when its breaking appeared impossible!* The fact that a crisis exists can never make appear unnecessary the efforts to prevent it. Hygienic propaganda is not superfluous because, on account of a lack of proper sanitary precautions, pestilences actually do arise.

The wrong conception as to the position of pacifism toward actual war may be due to the superstitious belief that war is a natural phenomenon beyond human control. This is why pacifists are usually looked upon as people whose attitude toward this alleged inevitability is to confine themselves to "loving" and "praising" peace, as one prefers a smooth sea to a rough sea or fine weather to cloudburst. In the same way one confines oneself to regarding pacifists as people who prefer the good and the beautiful to the bad and ugly, but whom one has to pity when events occur which are no more "good" and "beautiful," and which are therefore believed to be very disappointing to them. Such must have been the trend of thought of the high official who, during the Balkan crisis, said to me, "*I would not like to be a pacifist at present,*" which means, of course, "*I only want to be a friend of fine weather when the sun shines, because otherwise in storm and rain I would have to suffer for my predilections.*" It is hardly necessary to show how distorted this view is, least of all to those who have read the foregoing fundamental argumentations.

Then there are those who make pacifists responsible when war breaks out. They cry out upon us emphatically and accuse us of hypocrisy because we were working against war only in time of so-called peace, when, in their opinion, it is unnecessary to do so. They do not know that one cannot fight actual war, that one must change the causes that provoke it, in order to shun the outbreak of hell. To them we say, "*We are not firemen whom one calls in to put out a fire. We are but the supporters of a medium for fireproofing which by timely application would prevent the conflagration.*"

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The Florida Peace Convention.

By J. J. Hall.

Florida, the land of sunshine and flowers, organized a State Peace Society at Orlando on Saturday, May 1, 1915.

About two years ago, at the invitation of Mrs. Elizabeth Abbott Christ, the director for the South Atlantic States visited Orlando, made several addresses there, and a local peace society was formed. For the population of the place and its opportunities it became one of the most vigorous of all peace societies. It did and is doing splendid work. But it felt the need of a State-wide organization, and desired to see the great cause for which it so well stands reach out to every part of Florida, nor was this confined to Orlando. Letters were received from the Governor, from several college presidents, including the president of the State University, and also from the officers of women's clubs, heartily endorsing the movement.

So the director again visited the State. Thinking it would be well to awaken a general interest, he made addresses in several places, including Daytona, DeLand,